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539 passing by, and the father sent the girls up into the house to borrow fire. Pada refused at first to let the girls come in, but they insisted. When they returned, they said the young man was naked but that his face resembled their father's. So the father gave Pada a loincloth and then insisted that he marry the two daughters.

Again the rooster told Pada where his grandmother had hidden mokos, so that he was able to pay a bride-price. Next Pada wished to build his lineage house. When he gave the feast for thatching the house, his father, mother, and grandmother came. As they left he presented each with a bamboo tube of blood sausage and a basket of rice. However, when the three stopped to eat on their way home, the mother and father on splitting open their tubes found them filled with feces and discovered that their baskets of rice held only hulls. The grandmother, however, had been given good food.

In this story a child is both deceived and deserted as a disciplinary measure. Even the kindly grandmother is unable to give him more than partial succor, and she, too, deserts him through trickery on the beach. Finally the father-in-law gives him the gift of wives, for which of course he must pay. The climax of the story is the child's revenge upon his parents and his better treatment of the kindlier grandmother.

154 539 [861] This tale can be considered a projection of the inconsistency of discipline and consequently the reluctance to accept the results of behavior. Because of the revenge motif it fails quite obviously to point the moral intended when it is told to children as a disciplinary measure. It is almost as if a fantasy compensating for childhood difficulties outweighed the adult responsibility for discipline.

865 There are many other minor devices used to frighten small children, especially to make them stop crying, since during early childhood crying is one of the major problems confronting parents. One such device is a small crude doll representing a warrior with drawn bow. It may be hung under the eaves of a house and whenever a child cries excessively, its mother or grandmother threatens it by saying, "The killer on the verandah will shoot you."

This account would be unduly biased if I gave the impression that only frightening and punishing are used to stop children's crying. The autobiographies provide instances in which crying children are consoled with small gifts, usually food. I have seen a thirteen-year-old boy give a rat to an unrelated child of two to stop its crying after I had taken a toy doll from it. The point to be made once more is not that 861 children are treated with consistent harshness, but rather that either harshness or indulgence may be used in an attempt to quiet them, with

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[54] doubtedly occurs, both in homosexual and heterosexual forms. The autobiographies of Tilapada and Lomani contain accounts of girls' assuming the role of males in play, but these anecdotes do not indicate that any overt homosexual practices were employed. They may represent an ego problem in which certain girls were rebellious at the less privileged feminine role and were escaping in fantasy to the masculine one. There is, however, one reported case of mutual masturbation between girls. The society disapproves and is shocked by overt homosexual practices between girls but does not object to play activities of the sort described in Tilapada's autobiography. Homosexual practices between small boys are reported. An informant insisted that "only small boys of between five and seven" indulge in this sort of play. It is said that if such behavior comes to the attention of any adult the children are scolded, but that it is not considered an offense of sufficient magnitude to warrant corporal punishment. It seems unlikely that sexual practices of this type are anything but sporadic occurrences, and they certainly do not loom as a problem in the awareness of the Atimelanger.

Play groups of boys often join groups of girls in field houses for several days at a time. Adults are usually suspicious of such alliances and are inclined to warn the girls against the boys. These play groups usually imitate adult relationships. This may at times take the form of attempted intercourse, performed either secretly in pairs or within a group of age-mates. As one informant put it, "Children hear their mothers and fathers having intercourse. Then they say to each other, 'Our parents do this, so let us also.'" Such behavior is not approved by adults, but when reported or discovered it is likely to be shrugged off as mere play. There is also much rivalry between boys and girls, which may break out into roughhousing that is definitely sexual among the older children. In younger children actual physical contact between those of the same or the opposite sex is casual and unselfconscious. De-

[515] lousing, a form of perfectly proper and affectionate attention, is seen frequently among boys and girls. In general, bodily contacts are taken casually by both children and adults.

[125] The freedom of children in relation to sex matters was illustrated by a bit of free play set up for them, with the purpose of securing sibling rivalry play. An amputation doll * was used to represent the mother, a rubber doll the older sibling, and a small celluloid doll the nursing infant.

* An amputation doll is one whose joints are so constructed that the figure can be dismembered and reassembled.

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childhood, is replaced in late childhood to a large extent, but not exclusively, by the words for genitals. On the other hand, it was interesting to note in the exchange of insults accompanying mock warfare between two gangs of boys the point at which adults began to feel that the children were overstepping the bounds of what might be allowed. The boys hurled the following remarks at each other without provoking comment: "Crooked neck," "Yaws buttocks," "Eat feces," "Follow your dead mother," "Soft bellies," "Swollen throats." But two insults that brought angry protest from adults were: "Sleep with your mother; your father can't," and "May you grow hair on your penis."

AGGRESSION

The decrease of obscenity in growing children is paralleled by the decrease in actual aggressions. Boys are told to become more circumspect in their language and to avoid blows. The situation is nicely summed up in a comment on an adolescent fight in which blood had been shed. The narrator finished the story with these words, "We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought, to fight only with words." And in order to avoid fines, words too must become more guarded as one grows older and richer. Even in fairly young boys the adult male pattern of avoiding blows begins to take effect. On the whole, I had the impression that there were far fewer physical combats among the play groups of Atimelang than among comparable groups in our schoolyards. Once when a pair of boys about thirteen and fourteen began actually hitting at each other, my camera caught what my eye failed to catch—namely, the fashion in which all the younger boys drew away from the scene in apparent fright. This, of course, is in distinct contrast to the way children in our society tend to crowd around in a circle when a fight begins.

The number of anecdotes in the autobiographies that deal with violence do not substantiate my impressionistic observations on this point. It is quite possible that adults dwell unduly in fantasy on a period that allowed freer expression of hostility.

It is interesting in this respect that the forfeit for losing games is to receive a specified number of slaps. However, despite this permissible outlet for aggression, I was struck by the casualness with which the slaps were given. Very rarely did I see either boys or girls, after winning a game of marbles or jacks for example, take vigorous advantage of this opportunity. In contrast to this should be noted the verbal aggression in a game of "hide-the-thimble." A piece of blady grass is hidden on the dance place by one player. The finder pounds the grass on a stone,

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[524] saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so 865 on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

[153] The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freeness in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

● 154 865 Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamau the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamau the Simpleton while Lakamau was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamau the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then [855] placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the discipliner's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

[855] The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress. 861 The degrees to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge 154 principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

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stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear in view of the fact that I don't strike you?'"

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some comments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common experience to see men order a play group of children to do something, only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive. However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is afoot.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Rilpada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, 'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, 'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother."

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These factors cannot but create distrust toward others and lability 856
in human relationships. Children must be left with a sense of bewilderment in placing their loyalties and with an essential ignorance of warm and trustful relationships. The lack of training and praise, as well as the presence of teasing, ridicule, and fear, combined with lack of privileges and esteem, must create in the child an essential distrust of itself. All these factors will influence ego formations. They will probably affect morality clusters by failing to provide consistent behavioral precepts. They deprive the child of definite loved persons by means of whom 577
social standards can be internalized.

I do not wish to imply that the Alorese are without such standards—social life without them could not exist. But there is good reason to believe that in Alor the standards are not so rigid or so deeply rooted as they are in our middle class. The likelihood of a deep sense of [154] ●
guilt, therefore, and of turning aggressions inward upon the self to the point of suicide is much less pronounced. Suicide as a culturally recog- [762]
nized device is unknown, and I have records of only a very few situations that might be interpreted by implication as suicidal. (See Chapter 7.)

In respect to sex the culture is much less harsh. Sexual activity is 856
expected to diminish during late childhood. However, information regarding it is not withheld, and disapproved activity seems to be no more harshly treated than social offenses such as theft and disobedience. Again, as in earlier developmental periods, the activities of the instincts [155]
seem to be less destructively handled than those of the ego.

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Each wife has a certain number of belligerent allies, and in addition there is always a large group of women who try to separate the combatants but who manage in their role of peacemakers to land some very effective blows. A whole village may be in a turmoil of struggling women waging a shifting warfare in the mud or dust of the dance place for as long as from two to four hours.

Men at such times are inclined to stand out of range and watch the tide of battle with mixed amusement and contempt. Sometimes a man may become indignant because he feels that the violence is going beyond bounds, that real injury may be done, and that he may be fined. If he is bold, he may step into the melee with a rattan switch and lay about him in an effort to separate enthusiastic combatants. Women usually resent this sort of interference, and as a rule the officious male is turned upon by recent enemies, who combine to drive him back to the fringe of spectators, where it is felt he belongs. A husband who is the cause of such an outburst either sits by passively, wearing an uneasy grin, or, if he is a man of particular dignity, goes off to another village or to his field until things calm down.

Naturally some battles may be much less violent than others, depending on how much real jealousy motivates a woman utilizing this formal cultural outlet. More than once a senior wife who is in earnest makes life so uncomfortable that the junior wife finally insists on a divorce, but even a wife who has urged her husband to buy another woman will go through the forms of a quarrel. The only case in which the culture denies such expressions is in the inheritance of a widow through the levirate.

The effect of this cultural pattern is to afford women a very direct and relatively harmless emotional outlet. It reminds one of the formalized wailing required of them as an expression of grief that is denied men. In these two cases the culture grants more direct and recognized outlets to women than to men. It is not surprising, therefore, all other things considered, that men are apt to consider women, in comparison to themselves, somewhat vulgar creatures who do not know how to guard their tongues. It will be recalled that earlier there was occasion to refer to the training boys and men get in translating physical violence into verbal forms and in toning down verbal aggression on pain of financial sanctions. I know of no case in which women, or their kinsmen, were actually fined for verbal excesses, although such threats were made.

In the case of plural wives, separate households are established, and a man is supposed to divide his attention, labor, and gifts equally among them. Any slight on his part may result in reproaches directed toward

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[193] this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a considerable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[427] unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token" (*makiling*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers. Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atimelangers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation, shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[53] as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame produces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
556 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of danger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of expressing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains. The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

578 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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578 cant, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
602 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more remote affinal relatives.

152 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelanger lose his temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very powerful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat with his opponents and the judge.

154 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that
535 help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances (*dokok*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengdemu*) between young men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gravity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form and cause for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually hastens to apologize.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages. The degree to which this dance contest is really a hostile act is evident from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although fortitude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Maliseni, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*moling*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a drastic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by countersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tasah* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kalukek*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tasah*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Malesta was a young man who had married Maliseni's sister, Kol-

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556 578 dog." The boys reported this to their father and the wealth contest broke out. Maliseni's Male House I, a man called Malikalieta, came to his support. This time Maliseni was victorious in the reckoning of slaughtered pigs.

578 602 [764] In 1938 Malefani died and there were whispered rumors that he had been poisoned by Maliseni's brother, because of their protracted hostility. This did not prevent Maliseni from giving burial services as the representative of the Male House IV and from complaining so effectively about the payment for these services that he raised the level of payment for all the six Male House representatives. The Male House kin, seeing their advantage in this quarrel, supported Maliseni. There was every indication that Malefani's sons were inheriting their father's feud with the Maliseni faction. This did not mean that the two sets of opponents would not join forces against a third person when it was to their mutual advantage. In fact, some seven months later they stood back to back against Malikalieta in a quarrel over payments for their services as house-building partners in the erection of Malikalieta's lineage house.

556 602 154 This matter of wealth feuds has been described in some detail for the light it throws on the rare but ever-present possibility of using wealth contests as a check for excessive chicanery and as an expression of personal hostilities; for the light it throws on elaborate kin involvements as well as the completely realistic alignment of loyalties, which are determined more by the particular situation than by any formal and consistent policy. The possibility of a wealth contest is also a reason why neutrals fear hostility between powerful men. Should such a contest break out no one's pigs are safe.

681 [177] In cases of fines through challenge and shame (*kalukek*) the system is far less dramatic and involves fewer people. It is a procedure that has been falling into disuse, since the Dutch government has set up a system of litigation by means of which fines can be levied through public debate. Litigation usually results in a more moderate fine and more rapid dispatch of business. However, fines through challenge are still [154] resorted to where the principals are particularly incensed and feel that only a very ostentatious wealth display can assuage their feelings. There is a case of such a challenge in Mangma's autobiography, the details of which have been deleted from the autobiography and are inserted here.

695 681 627 Mangma had been accused of intercourse with a girl with the obvious intention of trying to force him into a marriage. He proved his innocence through a hot millet ordeal and then insisted on further ex-

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If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-
izing aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delirium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been selected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before continuing with ideas of burial and death, it may be appropriate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are available on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of the Atimelanger is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The history of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be recalled that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the Simpleton was not called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to peculiarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no longer living. The case of Fanseni has been quoted. The other three cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have broken out suddenly. For instance, Matingmale had worked quietly all day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn, reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoulder, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.

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Finally he freed himself and suddenly found that he was seated on the top branches of a mango tree. He climbed down the tree and was discovered by two supernatural women. As in the other two myths, Farik, the father of the women, was reassured as to his intentions and invited him to the village, where he was revived by the usual millet treatment and the use of fire tube and fan. After his marriage to the two women, Momau began to feel homesick and with the help of his father-in-law went back to the surface of the sea and from there to his own village. His two supernatural wives had been transformed into a conch shell horn and a green glass bottle. These he neglected after securing a third wife in his own community.

A wild pig began to root up Momau's sweet potatoes. He went to guard the field and in an attempt to shoot the animal he was disemboweled. (This is presumably a punishment for the neglect of the two sacred objects, his transformed wives.) The villagers all pursued the pig, which escaped by flying into the sea and changing into a porpoise.

Meanwhile his father-in-law, Farik, disguised as a Kebola man, went to Momau's village and miraculously healed him. The following day Farik transformed Momau into a crow and then back again into human form. Thereafter Momau himself possessed the power of healing severed bodies; this he demonstrated on his dog and child. He was also capable of assembling a shattered ax by simply blowing on it. His third wife was alarmed by these powers and said he had become a witch, whom all would avoid. Momau then turned into a crow and flew back to Farik's village taking with him the first two wives in the form of a conch shell horn and a glass bottle.

MALIGNANT SUPERNATURALISM

All this material on Good Beings represents, on the whole, wishful fantasying about a better world and kinder characters, without quite eliminating the uncertainty and harshness of real relationships. Although Good Beings are usually wonderful and enviable, there are categories of supernaturals envisaged wit' equal specificity who are consistently malignant.

Witches are among the most concretely visualized of such beings. very much doub[illegible] anyone in Atimelang is considered a witch or practices witchcraft. However, Atimelangers are convinced that certain villages are witch-ridden, and Kewai, their enemy of the last war, is one of them. Men and women both can be witches; most frequently they gain power over people by inviting them to have sexual intercourse. Then, while the person sleeps, the witch steps over the partner's

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woman stepped over Lanata and urinated on him, thereby bewitching him. 539

The next day Lanata's six friends called him. He wished to accompany them, but the woman persuaded him to continue living with her in the village.

In five days the woman suggested that Lanata go pig hunting with his brothers-in-law. Lanata shot an animal which the dogs were pursuing and which proved to be a snake. This happened twice. His brothers-in-law wished to eat the snake, but Lanata refused and instead provided himself with crabs and crayfish from the ravine. The next day he returned to the village with only the remnants of his crabs, whereas his brothers-in-law brought in the snake meat. His wife cooked the meat, but Lanata refused to touch it, saying, "You eat what I should eat. You substitute for my mouth."

After a time the woman was pregnant. She and Lanata set out for his village of Murswating. On the way she turned into a bat and flew to his village while he walked. While they lived in Murswating, a child from Kewai entered their garden. The child saw a green snake sleeping on top of a tuber which was pushing through the earth. The green snake (witch) ate the child's liver, and the child died. The men of Kewai were angry. They encircled Lanata's house and set it afire. Lanata's wife turned into a bat and flew away. Lanata was shot as he tried to escape. As he lay dying his hand closed on Alurkowani's testicles so firmly that it had to be pried open. After that Lanata's soul possessed Alurkowani, and witches multiplied in Kewai so that now all the people there are witches.

The improbability of anecdotes about witchcraft makes me feel that 754
we are dealing here with a complete fantasy structure. The beliefs are 534
couched in terms similar to those used in near-by culture areas. In such 171
clusters of ideas, peoples from other regions have invested a great deal of psychic energy. It is noteworthy that this is not the case in Atimelang, where neither witchcraft, sorcery, nor poisoning bulks large, either as an institution or a preoccupation.

Only two deaths of which I knew gave rise to definite gossip of 761
poisoning. It was, however, very cautiously discussed in undertones 521
and only among friends. It is possible that more such rumors circulated but never reached my ears. However, one man who had not been feeling well for some time talked quite freely with me about the possibility of having been poisoned on a trip to the coast, where he chewed areca with a stranger. It was very difficult to get any concrete data even from

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Even though there are these numerous traumata in connection with feeding, weaning is not traumatic. But the readiness with which children suck at objects which resemble breasts is a further indication of the effects of poor maternal care. A child free of hunger tensions can expand the character of its contacts with the mother, and once she becomes a dependable object the child has a reliable buffer against the outer world. If this buffer is absent, nothing but anxiety and inhibitions can result. This shows itself chiefly as a lack of interest both in the outer world and in those ego components through which mastery of it is effected. 155 [145] 155

Two additional features must be mentioned. First, the mother does not find the feeding of the child particularly pleasurable. This is very likely to be the case when the mother herself has been through the experience that she now imposes on the child. A second point is that in many of the illnesses which the child suffers at this time, it is the father who is blamed for having broken a taboo or one of the abstinences imposed upon him during the early life of the child. In this way the mother escapes a blame which she undoubtedly feels. 153 154 154

The fact that mothers occasionally masturbate their children while feeding them is no commentary on their sex morality but on the fact that the masturbatic activity is used as a palliative; and it is very likely that sexual gratification thus becomes very early in life established as a means of placating the child for frustrations suffered in other directions. 154 154

With regard to training the child to walk and talk, little deliberate effort is made. From comparisons with children in our society one can safely deduce the fact that the child is subject to a continuous series of frustrations in its efforts to establish some mastery over the world. This means also that positive and enterprising attitudes toward the world are not developed, for failures foster inhibitions. [148] 155

While the child is thus not encouraged to strong ego formation in early childhood, there is an extenuating circumstance in the fact that it is not subjected to discipline which it cannot understand. There is a conspicuous absence of restrictive discipline, particularly in connection with anal training. Here it may be noted that the Alorese seem to have no buttock erotic sensitivity or consciousness. This zone is seemingly devoid of significance—nor is it used in punishing children, as is the case in our society. Anal training seems to be synchronous with growth and is taught mainly by example. Hence these activities cannot contribute very much to the formation of the ego ideal. [143]

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have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the eldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

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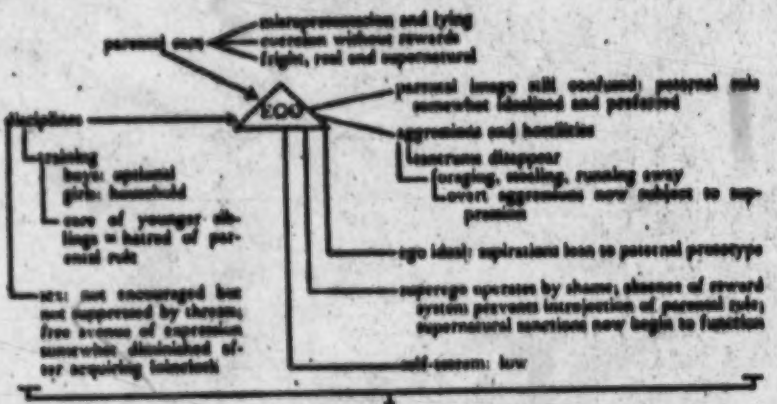
Chart II. Late Childhood


misrepresentation and lying
overdom without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
parental care
EGO
parental image still confused; paternal role somewhat idealized and perfected
disciplines
aggressions and hostilities
tenderness disappear
[orneging, stealing, running away
overt aggressions now subject to suppression
training
boys: optional
girls: household
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental rule
ego ideal: aspirations lean to paternal prototype
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rules; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
self-esteem: low

Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

[55] more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe [55] anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time, [61] and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its [58] rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

[54] To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

[64] One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lacka- [54] daisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering [57] and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

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of shame, which is really an external agent, and the sense of guilt, which depends upon the internalization of the good parental imago, the tonicity of which is maintained by the hope of being reinstated into parental grace. In this latter the young man has had exceedingly poor experience.

One final point must be mentioned in connection with the masculine ego ideal. The dependency upon the woman is all too well known. Hence the playing up of masculinity by exaggerating the importance of male financial activities is largely a way of denying dependency upon the woman.

The induction of the female into adulthood is much easier and is accompanied by fewer necessities for changes in attitude, and by fewer conflicts. Here too we must review the experience of the mother and her resentment of the maternal role, which she is prematurely asked to undertake with the younger siblings. She will not be inclined to give children what she herself did not get. Her wish to abandon herself sexually to the man is filled with internal resistance. Likewise there is resentment at bearing children and caring for them, a fact that leads to two consequences, frequency of abortions and maternal neglect of children. This really completes the cycle. As far as the feminine ego ideal is concerned, the masculine role seems decidedly preferable. It is devoid of the arduous responsibilities and the actual hard labor that go with being a wife and a mother. (See Chart IV.)

Under these conditions it is not difficult to understand why it is that the female so frequently takes the aggressive role sexually. Actually this aggression by the female is largely through default on the part of the male. Secondly, the status of marriage is, notwithstanding its hardships, infinitely more desirable to the woman than would be the state of spinsterhood. If the role of wife is accepted, the woman has some compensations. She can actually dominate the male by threatening the withdrawal of food, and she can exercise a powerful check upon his infidelities by making the financial obligations associated with bride-price infinitely greater. As we have said before, the whole financial arrangement in connection with marriage acts as a powerful check in keeping the tottering structure of relations between the sexes in some kind of balance.

It is difficult to formulate any opinion about the attitude of the woman toward her father, and no consistent pattern emerges of her reactions to her possible importance in his financial schemes. From it she may derive some sense of importance. There is little evidence to prove one way or another the nature of the infantile attachment to the father.

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no new situations are encountered. What we will see henceforth is merely the working through of the old constellations in relation to the social goal of status.

It is the answer to the question, "What do I think of myself?" that can supply us with some information about the source from which the quest for prestige derives its motive power. The wish to be equal to, or better than, another is really a reflection of an internal need to think well of oneself. In this regard the Alorese quest for prestige has a very strong internal function, since at no time in the life cycle of the individual does he have the opportunity to think highly of himself. The male especially emerges into adulthood with a profound feeling of unworthiness. It would be reasonable to expect therefore in the male strongly repressed predatory trends, which would be less marked in the female. To bear this out it was observed that within limits it is the men who steal and ask for presents; the women do not. Women return gifts; men do not. Women share with others; men do not. The father is the chief beneficiary of the bride-price dealings; the mother much less so. The men seek compensations in dress and regalia; the women do not. The sensitivity to personal defects, that is, the touchiness, may be exaggerated in the men as compared with the women. It is the male who is predominantly mortified to have any derogatory epithet leveled at him. The men eat first when guests are present, and the women eat later. Every opportunity is exercised by men, both through the rights over children and through chicanery, to cancel out the deep feeling of unworthiness.

The role of money is therefore an important factor in the effort to establish security. Interestingly enough the wealth quest is not in the form of an actual accumulation of gongs and mokos. Emphasis falls rather on the fact that money gives one control over others, and this is what really tells the story. A lien upon another person means that you can at your will convert him into a giver. The inability to control the mother was the most signal defeat of childhood. If we can allocate this defeat to any zone, it is really to an oral one, for it is accompanied by intense feelings of greed and envy. The general stinginess about food is evidently derived from oral frustrations, a fact which is strongly supported by the consideration that there is no coercive anal training in childhood.

The accumulation of wealth is obviously not free of dangers. The fact that large displays of wealth are thought to cause illness, which in turn can be remedied by giving a feast, indicates the anxiety that attends the accumulation of wealth, because it means that the individual

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3 by women. In view of the preoccupation with finance in this culture, the fact that no wealth interpretations were given to words which could be so interpreted may point to an avoidance of areas of difficulty and, by extension, support my argument for the weakness of the ego in Alorese personality.

Responses to other words or groups of words can be briefly summarized. *Fire*, for instance, drew from 6 men the positive response of *to light*, whereas 4 women responded to it in a negative fashion with *out*. These were the 2 responses of highest consistency. To 4 words dealing with illness or pain (nos. 13, 34, 96, 98), of 132 usable responses only 5 were recovery words and 5 were treatment or curing words. Again this seems to indicate a low positive or active attitude. In response to the word *sacrifice* (literally, smear verandah), 15 responses out of 32 dealt with naming, cooking, or eating food and 7 more were variants on the term "to give a feast." Stimulus words for various kinds of quarreling (nos. 29, 46, 73) produced responses that in large part were terms for other types of quarreling, and these answers seem neither consistently to magnify nor to reduce the degree of violence implied in the stimulus word. To the 2 weapon words (*arrow*, *bow*) the responses were again predominately other types of weapons. Only 3 responses to *bow* and *arrow* out of 67 usable answers were *shoot*. The response *person dead by violence* occurred only 3 times to these two words. The decorative, as opposed to the aggressive, connotation of weapons may be indicated by 17 responses out of 103 that meant *wear* or *carry*.

Aside from these specific responses, the absence of qualifying words seems marked. For instance, to the stimulus word *my ear*, only 1 person responded *deaf*. There were scattered responses of *bad*, *large*, and *small*, but these came primarily in answer to the qualified stimulus word like *large ravine* or *river* (no. 58).

Unfortunately this word test was not given with a stop watch. This is particularly unfortunate since the considered opinion of some psychologists is that reaction time is a safer guide than the character of the association.* Words that produced delayed responses were checked only on an impressionistic basis during the test. Considering the delayed responses in connection with perseverations and irrelevant answers may give some hint of the stimulus words that gave subjects difficulty. These were:

* H. M. Leach and M. F. Washburn, "Some Tests by the Association Reaction Method of Mental Diagnosis," *The American Journal of Psychology*, 21:164 (1910).